

THE IMPACT OF HISTORICAL DESIGNATION ON  
RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL COHESION

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**ABSTRACT**

**THESIS:** The Impact of Historical Designation on Neighborhood Residents' Perception of Social Cohesion

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As an important policy to encourage preservation and revitalization of historic neighborhoods, historical designation is widely utilized yet largely understudied within sociology. Focusing on a neighborhood in a midsized Midwestern city that includes areas both with and without historical designation, the current study attempts to understand the relationship between historical designation and social cohesion, an important neighborhood dynamic that has been linked to outcomes such as prevalence of crime, health outcomes, and access to important neighborhood information. Results suggest that while residing in a historically designated area is not associated with higher levels of interaction within the neighborhood, perceptions of social cohesion are higher among residents who reside within a historically designated district than for residents who reside in other portions of the neighborhood that do not have a historical designation. Additionally, results suggest that the association between historical designation and perceptions of social cohesion is at least partially mediated by residents' perception of the neighborhood as a "good" and safe place.

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## INTRODUCTION

Historical designation has become a strategic urban planning tool to revitalize and preserve historic areas while promoting economic development in urban environments (Coulson and Leichenko 2004; Ijla, Ryberg, Rosentraub, and Bowen 2011; Leichenko, Coulson and Listokin 2000). This label places recognition on areas or dwellings because of their importance to the history of a city or region and prevents them from being neglected (National Park Service 2011). Owners of historically designated properties reap both positive and negative consequences. While owning a historically designated property confers prestige, the owners are often restricted in how they can alter the property and are required to maintain their property (Coulson and Leichenko 2004). The impact of this designation, therefore, reaches further than a surface-level label of a district.

Previous research has focused on the home equity and demographic changes that have occurred in neighborhoods as a result of historic designation (Hyra 2012; Ilja et al. 2011; Kauko 2009; Leichenko et al. 2001; Zahirovic-Herbert and Chatterjee 2011; Zukin 1987). Scholars have noted that although historic designation comes with several restrictions and costs, it can also be associated with increasing housing property values within historically designated neighborhoods in some cases (Leichenko et al. 2001; Zahirovic-Herbert and Chatterjee 2011), though other research has shown the contrary of this assertion (Gale 1991). Critics claim that historic designation is the first step in a demographic shift; rising property values will push out working class, longtime residents and bring in wealthier, new residents (Zahirovic-Herbert and Chatterjee 2011). However, research has not found evidence of a significant demographic turn associated with historical designation (Coulson and Leichenko 2004). Given the lack of

consensus in research, it is necessary to examine the broader impact that historical designations have on neighborhoods and their residents.

One area that may be of particular importance to consider is whether and how historical designations impact residents' perceptions of social cohesion. Social cohesion emphasizes the degree to which mutual trust and solidarity exists among neighborhood residents. Residents actively construct their neighborhood social life, which in turn impacts their perceptions of neighborhood social cohesion (Dassopoulos and Monnat 2011). This phenomenon has become increasingly studied within urban research, including its relation to homeownership (DiPasquale and Glaeser 1998), diversity (Hobson and Prater 2012; Letki 2008), mixed-income developments (Chaskin and Joseph 2010), sustainable development (Dale and Newman 2009), and social trust (Phan 2008). Feelings of strong social cohesion result in a system of social support, which can help in the dissemination of important information that impacts the occurrence of crime, health outcomes, information about public services, and more within a given community (Dassopoulos and Monnat 2011). Despite the importance of social cohesion for neighborhood outcomes, scholars have yet to consider how historical designation may impact social cohesion in neighborhoods. This question is important to consider because the impact of historical designation may largely be social as opposed to demographic. That is, previous research on the impact of historical designation has produced inconsistent findings because these studies did not consider the impact of historical designation as a social transformation that shaped residents' perceptions of their neighborhood.

In looking at the social impact of historical designation on neighborhoods, the primary research question for the current study is: does historical designation influence residents' perception of social cohesion? Because one goal of historical designation is to revitalize the area,

it is possible that there is a greater amount of interaction between residents who reside within historically designated areas than among those who reside outside of historic areas.

Additionally, residents' perception of neighborhood quality will be considered as a mediating variable. Historical designation may increase neighborhood prestige and neighborhood quality, and perception of the neighborhood as a good place may increase the likelihood that residents seek out relationships with their neighbors.

The present study examines the social impact of historical designation within a neighborhood in a midsized Midwestern city. West Central neighborhood in Fort Wayne, Indiana is ideal for examining the effects of historical designation because the neighborhood is segmented into a large area with a national historic designation, and within that designation there is a smaller local historic designation. In addition, part of the neighborhood does not carry a historic designation. This unique neighborhood provides for a number of comparisons (e.g. historically designated versus not historically designated, and nationally designated versus locally designated) to more fully examine the influence of historical designation on a neighborhood. Exploring the influence of historic designation on social cohesion will allow for a more complete understanding of the social impacts of historical designation, which may also be linked to other outcomes such as crime rates, health outcomes, and other important community features.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### Historical Designation

As a response to the deterioration of many inner cities due to city expansion and suburbanization, many national and local policies have turned to rehabilitating and preserving urban neighborhoods to retain both their physical structure and social prestige as well as



promoting economic development within urban environments. Part of this downtown neighborhood revitalization includes creating historically designated districts, which can include whole or parts of neighborhoods.

There are also various types of historical designations at the national, state, and local levels. National designations are provided through the National Park Services and properties or districts are placed on the National Register of Historic Places (National Park Service 2011). These types of designations are largely honorary because they do not impose restrictions on property owners. The associated state and municipal authorities confer state and local designations and their restrictions can vary according to their location. Local-level designations are often more restrictive in the types of changes that can occur within districts. Cities impose requirements of property owners to apply for a “certificate of appropriateness” when making any alterations, demolitions, or additions to their property (Ilja et al. 2011). These can include specific paint colors, materials, and the placement of windows, doors, or external lighting. Preservation advocates justify these physical markers as reminders of the past that both create a connection to the area’s history while also generating neighborhood pride. Opponents claim that these designations overreach their authority, impose strict regulations, and “loosely” apply their designation criteria (Ilja et al. 2011). These differentiating levels of prestige and restrictions can have both value-enhancing and value-detracting consequences on real estate within historical designations.

When examining the impact of historical designation on housing values, researchers find mixed results. This is mostly due to the fact that historical designations can reap various consequences depending on the types of restrictions placed on neighborhood properties. When studying designations within multiple cities, Leichenko et al. (2001) found that in most cases,

historical designation is associated with increasing residential property values between five and twenty percent of total property values. Similarly, researchers (Ijla et al. 2011) found in a multi-city analysis that homes within historically designated districts had higher sales prices when compared with comparable homes in non-designated neighborhoods. Homes in historically designated districts may be more attractive for buyers because of their official declaration of historical prestige. Additionally, Zahirovic-Herbert and Chatterjee (2011) find that historic designation of a neighborhood has positive spillover effects on property values for nearby properties. When examining differences in the designations themselves, researchers Schaeffer and Millerick (1991) note that property values also differ according to type of historical designation. For instance, national designations are associated with more property value increase due to less stringent controls on property owners when compared to local designations.

These findings support the notion that historical designation achieves the urban planning goal of economic enhancement of urban neighborhoods; however, increasing property values can change the demographic makeup of the neighborhood, which may also negatively impact some residents. Opponents argue that with this shift in affordability comes a demographic shift where low income and long-term residents are pushed out of the neighborhood (Schneider 2001; Zahirovic-Herbert and Chatterjee 2011). The suggested demographic change in historically designated neighborhoods can occur through various avenues. For example, low-income renters may feel pressure to leave the neighborhood, as landlords seek increased rent or sell their properties. While critics (Schneider 2001; Zahirovic-Herbert and Chatterjee 2011) maintain that this process happens inevitably with historic designation, the believed progression has been understudied among scholars. Using Fort Worth, Texas as a case study, Coulson and Leichenko (2004) find that while historically designated areas typically start out with slightly worse

neighborhood indicators (e.g., crime rates, housing values) than those without designation, there is no empirical evidence that preservation efforts through historical designation have transformed the demographic arrangement of neighborhoods. Census tract data suggest that a significant tipping point in demographic change had not occurred. This examination presents several limitations by focusing on whole census tracts rather than on historical designations themselves, which may not represent true neighborhood boundaries or true historical designation boundaries themselves. Additionally, the researchers only utilized Census data for the years 1990 and 2000, while they acknowledged that some designations had occurred as early as the 1970s. Given that this theoretical argument regarding demographic shifts is still maintained (Schneider 2001), this understudied topic needs additional consideration.

Given that neighborhoods, although clearly considered spatial units by the Census, are also inherently social units, it is necessary to examine the social impact of these historical designations. Peter Berger and Richard Neuhaus' (1977:151) view is that a neighborhood is what "the people who live there say is a neighborhood." For example, residents see neighborhoods as symbolic units of identity and belonging (Park 1982), as contexts for the development of social networks and social capital (Letki 2007; Phan 2008), and as sites of investment in the broader political economy (Zukin, Turjuillo, Frase, Jackson, Recuber, and Walker 2009). According to Sundblad and Sapp (2011:512) neighboring, or "the degree to which residents describe the community as friendly, trusting, and supportive," is a determining factor in the level of community attachment. Thus, in order to understand how historical designation can be beneficial to a neighborhood, it is important to consider what creates a "good" neighborhood.

Miles and Song (2009) have identified six primary characteristics of good neighborhoods: *permeability* is the ability of traveling the neighborhood with ease; *variety* is the appropriate mix of land uses and housing types; *accessibility* is the convenient location of places; *identity* is the creation of a sense of belonging; *heritage* is the continuation of relationship with a place's historic origins; and, *legibility* is the ability to find the order of a place. In historically designated neighborhoods, the heritage of the area is being preserved but the identity may also be affected. Karamanski (2010) suggests that memory of places is constructed out of a shared sense of the past that grows out of a shared experience of the present. The act of designation creates an identity for the neighborhood. From this, we can take historical preservation as a contribution to the common conception of a community. It is likely that in the case of historical preservation, heritage itself will bind residents together (Karamanski 2010). Through labeling the district as historically relevant, the neighborhood's sense of orientation within society allows residents to see it as relevant in the present time as well. If historically designated neighborhoods are able to provide these functions for individuals through a unique common bond, the function of historical designation will not be simply for preservation, but also for community building through these venues.

### Social Cohesion in Neighborhoods

Social cohesion is broadly defined as the common aims and objectives, social order, social solidarity and the sense of attachment to place among a group (Durkheim 1893; Forest & Kearns 2001). This phenomenon has been widely studied in the area of community building in urban sociology. Researchers have attempted to examine the social fabric of the neighborhood, or who defines the neighborhood, who speaks for the neighborhood, and who feels part of the neighborhood. The way that neighborhoods are defined is highly dependent on the amount of

consensus among residents and can transcend or undermine the definitions given by governmental agencies. For instance, in the case of historical designation it is possible that existing social cohesion among neighborhood residents prior to designation is responsible for the neighborhood becoming designated due to resident mobilization. Similarly, the prevalence of social cohesion within a neighborhood is dependent on the characteristics of the individuals in the neighborhood and the characteristics of the neighborhood itself. By examining the prevalence of social cohesion, it is not only possible to understand neighborhood dynamics, but to also predict a number of important outcomes within neighborhoods like the prevalence of crime, mental and physical health outcomes, greater access to resources, and greater community involvement (Sundblad and Sapp 2011).

Attitudes towards neighbors and interactions with neighbors are the primary factors that influence one's perception of social cohesion within his or her neighborhood. Positive attitudes toward neighbors invoke neighborhood attachment and trust in neighbors through familiarity (Letki 2007). Similarly, formal and informal interactions with neighbors reinforce the attitudes that one has of neighbors. Neighborhoods with high levels of social life and interaction will develop strong social networks, which will in turn be mutually reinforcing. For example, individuals who are more socially active in formal relations will also be more likely to be involved in informal, voluntary associations (Letki 2007).

Varying factors like socioeconomic status and neighborhood initiatives impact social cohesion and neighborhood outcomes, but social cohesion itself can provide important implications for the neighborhood as well. The lack of social cohesion can promote crime and violence while creating a fear of strangers, as residents are reluctant to participate in the community (Miles and Strong 2009). This creates a deterioration of the neighborhood where

signs of vandalism, graffiti, litter, and other neighborhood violations are common. Conversely, when there are high levels of neighborhood involvement in neighborhood associations, community gardening, and other events, social cohesion increases because individuals gain the attitude that “we are all in this together” (Phan 2008: 23). These attitudes increase coordinated changes that will help to improve the well-being of the neighborhood.

### Historical Designation and Social Cohesion

Community-building approaches to address dilapidated neighborhoods have proliferated since the 1980s by seeking to reshape the circumstances of disadvantaged communities through material investment and community mobilization (Chaskin and Joseph 2010). Through resident participation, collaboration with community organizations, and fostering social interaction among residents, targeted redevelopment like historical preservation efforts provide a venue through which social cohesion may increase. In addition, New Urbanist design principles, which began developing in 1981, seek to emphasize particular aspects of the physical environment like land use, building and unit size and type, and pedestrian-friendly pathways, which can promote social interaction (Larsen 2005). The overall characteristics of New Urbanist neighborhoods emphasize the following: *walkability* or the ability to be within a ten-minute walk of necessities and a pedestrian-friendly street design, *connectivity* or an interconnected network of streets, boulevards, and alleys that separate traffic from pedestrians, *mixed land-use and diversity* or a mix of shops, offices, apartments, and houses, and diversity of people, *mixed housing* or a range of types, sizes, prices in close proximity to one another, *quality architecture and urban design* or emphasis on beauty, aesthetics, and creating a sense of place, *traditional neighborhood structure* or discernable neighborhood boundaries and transect planning, and *increased density* or buildings and residences are closer together (Dietrick and Ellis 2004; Larsen 2005).

Characteristics of older neighborhoods such as homes with reduced private space (small yards) and increased public space (parks and sidewalks) provide for more social interaction among residents due to increased exposure to one another. Indeed, Podobnik (2002) found that levels of bonding social capital (i.e., interpersonal ties that provide emotional and material support) were higher in a New Urbanist developed community when compared to both a traditional suburban neighborhood and two long-established urban neighborhoods. In addition, other studies show that New Urbanist designs have some effect on perceptions of neighborliness and a sense of community. New Urbanists utilize these cases, among others, to argue that the features of this type of urban design reinforce good community development (Sander 2002).

New Urbanism is most noted for promoting walkable communities and utilizing traditional designs in new communities. One variation of adoption and implementation of New Urbanism for existing communities is the “traditional city” (Larsen 2005), which attempts to retain historic local development patterns in order to promote “good city form” (Hayden 1994) through vitality, sense, fit, access, control, efficiency and justice (Lynch 1981). Historic development patterns epitomize these characteristics and are seen as good form in that residents were naturally dependent on their local surroundings, so the proximity of residences and resources to one another developed out of community demand. Historic designation focuses on preserving and celebrating the historic resources that define a community in addition to rehabilitation of the physical structures. Given the impact of New Urbanist design features on a neighborhood’s perception of social cohesion, it is likely that historically designated communities reap similar benefits.

As previously noted, historical designations have differing restrictions placed on residents’ properties according to the level of the designation. Local designations often have

more restrictive rules for rehabilitation and construction when compared to national designations. National designations are largely honorary and come with very few requirements for property owners (Zahirovic-Herbert and Chatterjee 2011). Given these levels of restrictions, the way that residents interact within the neighborhood may differ according to type of designation as well. Provided that local designations require more from residents, interaction within the district may increase as a result. Individuals may spend more time outside with upkeep of their property, and thus, will be more exposed to their neighbors. National designations, while still providing a label of a “good” area, have fewer regulations for residents, which may result in less interaction. As a result of these differing levels of interaction, it is likely that social cohesion will differ accordingly.

Additionally, provided that historically designated areas are traditionally in need of rehabilitation at the time of designation (Coulson and Leichenko 2004), the condition of the physical structures in the neighborhood may also influence perceptions of social cohesion. If the built environment is in poor condition (e.g., vacant lots, broken windows, litter, graffiti), residents are likely to not feel safe. Residents who do not feel safe within their neighborhoods are unlikely to seek strong social connections with their neighbors (De Jesus, Puleo, Shelton, and Emmons 2010). Conversely, neighborhood quality is positively associated with social cohesion (De Jesus et al. 2010). Given that the goal of historic designation is to rehabilitate historic neighborhoods and researchers find that property values increase after historical designation occurs (Leichenko et al. 2001), the link between historical designation and social cohesion may be due to the quality of the neighborhood. Through this, neighborhood quality may be the mechanism through which historical designation increases social cohesion.

#### West Central Neighborhood



To examine the relationship between historic designation and social cohesion, this study focuses on West Central neighborhood in Fort Wayne, Indiana. As one of Fort Wayne's most historic neighborhoods, West Central (previously known as the "West End") sits adjacent to the downtown central business district. The area was developed during the city's canal era in the 1830s, as it is clearly defined by a natural, river boundary at its north and west. Apparent in Figure 1, the neighborhood's other official boundaries include elevated railroad tracks and Taylor Street on the south, and Calhoun Street on the east (City of Fort Wayne, 2011).

-----Figure 1 about here-----

West Central had been the home to both middle- and upper- class families well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century (City of Fort Wayne, 2011). The north side of the neighborhood has primarily been home to Fort Wayne's wealthy business owners. The size and style of these homes reflect the upper class style of the time. Conversely, the southern portion of the neighborhood housed their employees. These cottages are much smaller and more closely located together.

Given the neighborhood's historic background, a large portion of the area was placed on the National Historic Register in 1984 while a smaller portion was locally designated shortly after in 1985 (City of Fort Wayne 2004). Existing historical class differences in the neighborhood may impact the way that the neighborhood has been designated, as individuals with higher socioeconomic statuses in the north might have mobilized to get parts of their neighborhood designated, thus undermining official boundaries of the neighborhood. The designations are important to note as they bring a sense of distinction to the neighborhood's assortment of architecturally significant structures. According to a publication from the City of Fort Wayne Planning Department (2004), since the designations West Central has seen a revival as many rundown, blighted homes have been rehabilitated in order to preserve their historic

character. Several homes that had previously been converted into multifamily dwellings have been returned to their original single-family model. The publication claims that property values in the neighborhood have risen as a result. This is important to note because research has disputed whether or not historic designation leads to a rise in buildings' property values (Leichenko, Coulson and Listokin 2000).

At present, there are approximately 3,366 residents in West Central neighborhood (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2010). This figure has decreased from 4,116 in 1990 and 3,806 in 2000. West Central neighborhood includes Census Tract 11 (46.3% of the neighborhood population), Census Tract 12 (24.3% of the neighborhood population), part of Census Tract 20 (1.6% of the neighborhood population), and part of Census Tract 21 (20.1% of the neighborhood population) (US Bureau of the Census 2010).

Of the 3,366 residents, 76.1% are white/Caucasian, 11.7% are black/African American, 7.9% are from Hispanic origin, and 2.9% are multiracial. These proportions are important to note when examining the historical trends within the neighborhood. For instance, the proportion of white residents has actually decreased from 89% in 1990 and 81.4% in 2000. The representation of minorities in West Central neighborhood has increased—the number of black residents went from 296 (7.2%) in 1990 to 395 (11.7%) in 2010 (US Census Bureau 2010).

Looking at Census Tract 11, which is the largest proportion of West Central, the median income for this Census Tract is approximately \$56,165 (US Bureau of the Census 2010). This number does not reflect the diversity within the neighborhood, however. As previously mentioned, the neighborhood is fragmented into a historically prominent north and a working

class south and is considered a mixed-income neighborhood.<sup>1</sup> For instance, the mean income for this tract is \$70,758 (US Bureau of the Census 2010). The difference between these two measures of central tendency suggests that there are quite a few high incomes in the neighborhood that bias the mean. The educational attainment of residents in Tract 11 shows that approximately 89% of residents have a high school diploma or higher (US Bureau of the Census 2010). Specifically, these data show that 25.9% have some college but no degree, 13.5% have an associate's degree, 24.8% have a bachelor's degree, and 9.3% have a graduate or professional degree.

Given that research has suggested that historically designated neighborhoods tend to have various demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, studying measures of social cohesion is important. Although there is reason to believe that strong social cohesion within a neighborhood may lead to well-defined neighborhood boundaries in the form of historical designations, it is also likely that residing in a historically designated neighborhood may help to facilitate or further increase social cohesion due to a collective sense of identity and heritage. The hypotheses for this study focus on the latter relationship. As the neighborhood goes through this transformation of rehabilitation, I hypothesize that (1) the combined local and national area will have the highest level of social cohesion, followed by the national-only area, and then the non-designated area; and, (2) the impact of historical designation on levels of social cohesion will at least be partially mediated by neighborhood quality.

## **METHODS**

### The Sample

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<sup>1</sup> Though mixed-income neighborhoods typically have lower levels of social cohesion than high SES areas (Chaskin and Joseph 2010), it is likely that the re-labeling of the neighborhood as a good place will encourage the growth of social cohesion.

The target sample for this study consisted of individuals over the age of 18 that are currently living in West Central neighborhood (as defined by the parameters above). To obtain this sample, households within each area in West Central neighborhood ( $N = 2,171$ ) were surveyed in direct proportion to their representation in the neighborhood. One resident per household was requested to complete the questionnaire. Large apartment complexes were excluded from the data collection, as they are inaccessible due to the lack of private entrances and often not tied to a particular neighborhood (Yamamura 2011); however, multi-family dwellings in the form of traditional homes with separate entrances were included. Therefore, the number of households in the neighborhood eligible for inclusion in this study was 1,749. Specifically, there are 1,030 households within the local and national designation area, 175 households within the national-only designation area, and 544 households within the non-designated area.

In order to ensure the highest response rate within a limited time period for data collection, a door-to-door survey distribution was conducted. A simple random sample of forty-five blocks was taken from a total of seventy-seven blocks. In order to maintain an acceptable distribution throughout the community, using a systematic sample of households within each block maximized the number of blocks sampled. The survey was distributed to every third house on each selected block, excluding vacant homes. In order to keep track of responses, residents' addresses were linked to a particular identification number (selected through a random number generator) located on the survey. This is a more efficient method than selecting whole blocks to survey, as the neighborhood is very segmented by socioeconomic status. Given these parameters for sampling, 216 households in 26 blocks in the local historically designated area, 60 households in 5 blocks in the national historically designated area, and 124 households in 14

blocks in the non-designated area were sampled. Given that the nationally designated area is much smaller in comparison to the other areas, it was over-sampled in order to obtain a suitable sample size for analysis.

The questionnaire packets consisted of a cover letter explaining the intent of the questionnaire, the questionnaire itself, a pre-addressed and pre-stamped return envelope, and a pen to assist in the completion of the questionnaire. Respondents were invited to return the envelope in the mail within one week. A follow-up contact was made with the respondents who have not answered the questionnaire three weeks after the initial questionnaire distribution. Within the follow-up request, respondents were given my contact information for replacement packets. Given the scale of this neighborhood study, the feasibility of more contacts was low. However, multiple contacts are important in receiving a respectable response rate. The data collection lasted from July 2013 through October 2013.

Of the 460 households contacted, 135 returned completed questionnaires (29.3% response rate). The response rates varied by area within the neighborhood—43% in the locally designated area, 20% in the nationally designated area, and 16% in the undesignated area responded to the survey. Data were also collected from a small area outside of West Central neighborhood for comparison ( $N = 17$ ) but were not used in the current analysis, resulting in a final sample size of 118 individuals.

The sample examined in the present study is fairly representative in terms of Hispanic ethnicity for the neighborhood population. While 7.9% of the total neighborhood population identifies with a Hispanic origin, 5.2% of sample respondents identified with a Hispanic origin. Racial minorities are underrepresented in the sample, as only 3.5% of the sample identified as a minority race (not white), while 19.6% of the neighborhood population identifies with a minority

race. Household income and educational attainment are not measured on the decennial Census, however estimates are provided through the American Community Survey at the Census tract level. West Central neighborhood contains two entire tracts and partial sections of two other tracts. Data used in this analysis come from the two complete tracts, which represent 70.6% of the neighborhood population. The median income range for the sample is \$25,000 to \$49,999. The median income for Census tracts 11 and 12 is approximately \$25,207, which falls just inside the range identified by the sample. Approximately 97.4% of the respondents in this sample have a high school diploma or higher, while only 80.2% of the population within Census tracts 11 and 12 identify having a high school diploma. Overall, minority and lower socio-economic status residents are somewhat under-represented in the sample. Despite the potential biases in the sample, the information gained from this study will be helpful in understanding the impact of historical designation on neighborhoods.

### Variables

#### *Historical Designation*

The primary independent variable in this study is where the resident lives—within both the local and national historical designation, within only the national historical designation, or within the area that does not carry a historical designation. Within the analyses, the local and national designation serves as the reference group.

#### *Social Cohesion*

Social cohesion is broadly defined as the common aims and objectives, social order, social solidarity and the sense of attachment to place among a group (Durkheim 1893; Forest & Kearns 2001). Researchers measure social cohesion in neighborhoods through several different dimensions. These include assessing how connected and trusting people are of their neighbors.

Social capital and collective efficacy can also be considered dimensions of social cohesion. Social capital emphasizes the degree to which social networks enable individuals to pursue shared goals and objectives (Letki 2007), or as “the resources that are available through social networks and relationships based on trust, shared norms, and reciprocity” (Curley 2010:79). Similarly, collective efficacy is defined as individuals’ willingness and belief of ability to effectively act on behalf of the common good (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997). Both social capital and collective efficacy can be useful concepts in understanding whether neighborhoods have high levels of cohesion. These concepts, as well as more direct indicators of connection and trust are used in this study to measure social cohesion.

Actual social connection. Actual social connection is measured through three survey items on how many neighbors the respondent knows by name (represented on an ordinal scale of “0 neighbors,” “1-4 neighbors,” “5-8 neighbors,” “9-11 neighbors,” and “more than 11 neighbors”), how often the respondent talks with neighbors (represented where 1 = “never” and 8 = “every day”), and how often the respondent socializes with neighbors (represented where 1 = “never” and 8 = “every day”). These measures are standardized, and the mean of the three items is used in the analyses ( $\alpha = 0.77$ )

Perception of social connection. Perception of neighborhood social connection is measured with three questions—identification that “my neighborhood is a close-knit community,” identification that “I feel connected with my neighborhood,” and identification that “people in my neighborhood get along.” All variables in this index were measured where “1” = “strongly disagree” to “5” = “strongly agree”. The mean of these three items is used in the analyses ( $\alpha = 0.86$ ).

Perception of social capital. Perception of social capital is measured through two questions—identification that “people in my neighborhood have connections to government officials who can influence what happens in the neighborhood,” and identification that “I feel that the neighborhood has active involvement from all interested residents.” All variables in this index were measured where “1” = “strongly disagree” to “5” = “strongly agree”. The mean of these two indicators is used in the analyses ( $\alpha = 0.63$ ).

Perception of collective efficacy. Perception of collective efficacy is measured through three items—identification that “people are willing to help their neighbors in my neighborhood,” identification that “residents of my neighborhood can generally solve neighborhood problems if they arise,” and identification that “I have influence over what this neighborhood is like.” All variables in this index were measured where “1” = “strongly disagree” to “5” = “strongly agree”. The mean of these three indicators is used in the analyses ( $\alpha = 0.73$ ).

Trust in neighbors. Additionally, “I trust my neighbors” is used as an additional measurement of connection to one’s neighborhood. This is measured where “1” = “strongly disagree” to “5” = “strongly agree.”

### *Neighborhood Quality*

In order to examine the relationship between historical designation and social cohesion further, neighborhood quality ( $\alpha = 0.74$ ) is treated as a mediating variable. Perception of neighborhood quality is important to consider as an influence of whether or not individuals feel connected to their neighborhood. This index includes “I feel safe in my neighborhood,” “my neighborhood is a good place to live,” “my neighborhood is a good place for kids to grow up,” where responses measured from 1 = “strongly disagree” to 5 = “strongly agree.” The mean of these three indicators is used in the analyses.



### *Control Variables*

Given that previous research has suggested that neighborhoods with lower socioeconomic statuses generally have lower levels of social cohesion, household income and highest level of educational attainment are controlled for in the analyses. Household income was measured on an ordinal scale in \$25,000 increments from “less than \$25,000” to “150,000+.” Highest level of educational attainment was measured on an ordinal scale from “less than high school diploma,” “high school diploma/GED,” “some college,” “associate’s/technical degree,” “bachelor’s degree,” “some graduate work,” and “graduate/professional degree.” Age and gender were also included as controls. Age response categories range from “18-25,” “26-35,” “36-45,” “46-55,” “56-64,” and “65+.” Gender was measured by “male” or “female.” In the analyses, “male” serves as the reference group to “female.”<sup>2</sup>

In addition to demographic controls, preference for cohesion is important to include given the self-selected nature of where one resides. This index includes the importance of a neighborhood with a “sense of community” and the importance of “feeling connected with my neighborhood” individuals had when deciding to live in West Central neighborhood. These indicators are measured from “1” = “not important” to “4” = “essential.” The mean of these two variables was used in the analysis ( $\alpha = 0.89$ ).

### Analysis

A number of steps were taken in order to examine the association between historical designation and social cohesion. Given the advantage of ordinary least squares (OLS) regression to consider the influence of multiple variables, it was used within the analysis. A series of models were created to examine the impact of historical designation on social cohesion.

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<sup>2</sup> Race/ethnicity was not included in the analyses because there were areas in which no racial/ethnic minorities completed a survey. Thus, a comparison of the impact of race on cohesion in various areas was not possible.

Separate models were created for each dependent variable, including controls and mediating variables. First, the designations are included as dummy variables. The second model adds the demographic control variables. The third model adds a control for preference of cohesion. The fourth adds the mediating variable of neighborhood quality. In order to account for the mediating relationship a separate regression model where neighborhood quality is the dependent variable was also examined. Additionally, an ordered logistic model was run for the dependent variable of “trust in neighbors” in supplementary analyses but is not shown here because the proportional odds assumption was violated and overall conclusions from the ordered logistic modeling were similar to those provided by OLS regression models.

Missing values accounted for 13.4% of total cases, therefore steps were taken to preserve the small sample size. In order to address the problem of missing data for the dependent and mediating variables, all indexes were created using the mean of all valid indicators available for the index. This helps to avoid bias of imputing the overall mean due to difference within each designated or non-designated area. For other variables, the mean value was imputed for missing values.

## **RESULTS**

Apparent in Table 1, the mean values of the five dependent variables (perception of social cohesion, actual social connection, collective efficacy, social capital, and neighborhood trust) were highest among residents within the combined local and national region, slightly lower within the national-only region, and the lowest within the not designated area on average. This provides some initial evidence in support of the first hypothesis. Similarly, the mediating variable of neighborhood quality follows the same pattern suggesting that in the areas with the most perceived neighborhood quality, there are also higher levels of social cohesion.

----- Insert Table 1 About Here -----

In order to establish a mediating relationship between historical designation, neighborhood quality, and social cohesion, it is necessary to first run models depicting the relationship between historical designations and neighborhood quality. Table 2 reveals that, in partial support of my hypothesis, residents in the non-designated area are less likely to believe their neighborhood is high quality than residents in the combined local and national area ( $b = -0.76$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). However, there is no significant difference between the combined nationally and locally designated area and the national-only designated area.

----- Insert Table 2 About Here -----

Results examining the relationship between historical designation and residents' perception of neighborhood social connection are presented in Table 3. Model 2 shows that in support of my hypothesis, residents within the non-designated region report significantly lower levels of social connection than those within the combined local and national historic designation ( $b = -1.00$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Additionally, the standardized coefficient ( $B = -0.54$ ) suggests that this designation is more influential than any of the demographic variables within Model 2. This is important to note, as levels of social cohesion are often associated with socioeconomic status. When preference for cohesion is added in Model 3, it is apparent that the coefficient for the not designated region is reduced from  $-1.00$  to  $-0.75$  and is still significant ( $p < 0.001$ ). This suggests that while preference for cohesion is an important predictor ( $b = 0.53$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) for perception of social cohesion, whether or not a resident lives within the combined local and national region or the non-designated region within the neighborhood itself is still an important factor. Neighborhood quality was included in Model 4, and results suggest that this is positively related to perceptions of connection as expected ( $b = 0.57$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Additionally, there is

evidence supporting the second hypothesis. Although historical designation was still a significant predictor of perception of social connection ( $b = -0.41, p < 0.05$ ), the size of the coefficient is reduced when neighborhood quality is included. Thus, it appears that neighborhood quality partially accounts for the lower perception of connection in non-designated areas than for residents in the combined national and local designated area.

----- Insert Table 3 About Here -----

When examining measures of actual social connection within one's neighborhood, results in Table 4 identify that even after including demographic controls (Model 2), one's residence within a historical district plays a role in predicting involvement with neighbors. Residents living in the not designated area report lower levels of actual social connection when compared to residents in the combined local and national designation ( $b = -0.44, p < 0.05$ ). However, similar to Table 3, there is no difference in actual social connection between the combined national and local designated area and the national-only designation. When preference for social cohesion is added in Model 3 ( $b = 0.36, p < 0.001$ ), historical designation was no longer associated with levels of actual social connection. The lower levels of connection may be due to residents' self-selection where people with a higher preference for cohesion may be more likely to live in the combined locally and nationally designated area than the non-designated area and, in turn, are also more likely to seek out connections within the neighborhood. Additionally, neighborhood quality in Model 4 is associated with higher levels of actual social connection ( $b = 0.27, p < 0.001$ ). This suggests that the perception of the neighborhood as a good place is associated with high levels of actual social connection.

----- Insert Table 4 About Here -----

Results in Model 2 of Table 5 show that residing in the non-designated region was associated with lower levels of perceived social capital ( $b = -0.94, p < 0.001$ ) compared to residence in the national and local area and there was no significant difference in perceived social capital between each type of historic designation. Model 3 shows that preference for cohesion is an important predictor of perceived social capital ( $b = 0.24, p < 0.01$ ), but does not explain the lower levels of perceived social capital in the non-designated region. When neighborhood quality was added in Model 4, ( $b = 0.40, p < 0.001$ ), historical designation still plays a role in predicting levels of social capital ( $b = -0.58, p < 0.01$ ) although the size of the coefficient is reduced. This finding suggests that there is partial mediation, supporting my second hypothesis.

----- Insert Table 5 About Here -----

Table 6 shows models predicting residents' perceptions of collective efficacy. Without controls included, Model 1 shows that residence within the non-designated region predicts lower levels of collective efficacy ( $b = -0.86, p < 0.001$ ). Results in Model 3 show that residents who identify a preference for cohesion also identify high levels of collective efficacy ( $b = 0.51, p < 0.001$ ). In addition, the significant difference in perceived collective efficacy between residents in the non-designated area and those in the combined local and national area remains in Model 3 ( $b = -0.35, p < 0.05$ ). Model 4 provides additional evidence in support of the second hypothesis, showing that neighborhood quality mediates the relationship historical designation and collective efficacy, as the designation variables are no longer significant and neighborhood quality is positively related to perceptions of collective efficacy ( $b = 0.40, p < 0.001$ ).

----- Insert Table 6 About Here -----

Last, Table 7 presents the relationship between historical designation and trust in neighbors. Model 1 suggests that residents' location within the neighborhood is a predictor of their trust in their neighbors. Residents within the non-designated region report the lowest levels of trust ( $b = -1.06$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). When controls are added in Model 2, the non-designated region is still associated with lower levels of trust when compared to the combined local and national region ( $-0.87$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Model 3 suggests that while preference for cohesion is associated with higher levels of trust ( $b = 0.36$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), individuals within the not designated areas still report significantly lower levels of trust when compared to individuals in the combined local and national designation ( $b = -0.72$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). Additionally, the standardized coefficient for preference for cohesion ( $B = 0.35$ ) is slightly smaller than that for the not designated variable ( $B = -0.39$ ), suggesting that living in a designation plays more of a role in predicting trust. Together, these findings partially support my first hypothesis that historical designation plays a role in residents' levels of social capital. The difference between residing in the historically designated area and the non-historically designated area is more important than the distinctions between the local and national designation. In support of my second hypothesis, Model 4 presents that neighborhood quality mediates the relationship between residents' region within the neighborhood and their trust in neighbors as the designation variables are no longer significant and neighborhood quality is positively related to trust in neighbors ( $b = 0.73$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ).

----- Insert Table 7 About Here -----

## DISCUSSION

The main purpose of this study was to examine a well-regarded neighborhood revitalization policy, historical designation, and its relationship with perception of community and social cohesion. Overall, the results partially support the hypothesis that residence within a

historical designation plays a role in residents' sense of social cohesion. Evidence suggests that levels of social cohesion were highest among residents within the combined locally- and nationally-designated region and lowest among residents in the non-designated area. Findings propose that the relationship between designated areas and non-designated areas is more important when it comes to levels of social cohesion than residence in certain types of designations (i.e., local vs. national). In support of the second hypothesis, part of this difference in social cohesion between neighborhood areas can be explained by residents' perceptions of neighborhood quality. Individuals who live within a historically designated area are more likely to view their neighborhood as a good place, and thus, are more likely to report higher levels of social cohesion.

One contribution of this study to the literature is the illustration that the traditional city policy of neighborhood revitalization may be effective at promoting a sense of community within the district's boundaries. Previous research has focused on social cohesion in new developments that utilize the New Urbanist approach (Podobnik 2002; Sander 2002), but have not examined its application to revitalizing older neighborhoods through this policy. Historical designation may encourage higher levels of social cohesion through promoting revitalization by reinforcing old conceptions of neighborhood life. The New Urbanist design principles emphasize particular aspects of the physical environment—land use, building type, and pedestrian-friendly pathways (Larsen 2005). The signature characteristics emphasized by historical designations (smaller yards and increased public space) may encourage social cohesion by fostering exposure of and interaction among residents. By providing evidence suggesting that social cohesion is higher within historic districts, the results suggest that the New Urbanist approach to the traditional city may be successful at emphasizing conceptions of community.

This corresponds with previous research that New Urbanist communities are associated with perceptions of neighborliness and a sense of community (Sander 2002).

In partial support of my hypotheses, results from the present study suggest that historical designation is generally associated with higher levels of perceived social cohesion when compared to non-designated portions of the neighborhood, but variation does not exist between particular types of designations (local or national). While previous research noted differences in property values by the level of maintenance requirements across types of historical designations (Schaeffer and Millerick 1991), results from this study suggest that these requirements are less important in predicting social connections among residents. This could be due to the purposes of historical designations, which focus on simultaneously revitalizing and preserving the historic relevance of the neighborhood regardless of the type of designation (Coulson and Leichenko 2004). As Miles and Song (2009) argue, identity and heritage are two main components of a physically “good” neighborhood. Through attempting to preserve a neighborhood’s heritage, historical designation helps to create a historic identity for the neighborhood. In turn, residents may feel more connected to one another through this common identity and pride.

The finding that historical designation is associated with higher levels of social cohesion when compared to an area that is not designated is accurate for all indicators of residents’ perception but not of residents’ actual connection to one another. This suggests that perception of cohesion differs from actual involvement within the neighborhood. Residents who live in historically designated areas of the neighborhood may perceive their areas as better because of the district’s prestigious label. Consequently, residents feel more connected to one another through this common bond (Miles and Song 2009). These differences in social cohesion are related to perception, not necessarily in physically interacting with other residents. This also



helps to further explain the similar levels of perceptions of social cohesion between those in both the national and local historically designated areas, suggesting that the actual label of prestige matters more than the level of upkeep required by the label (i.e., local vs. national).

While actual social connection between residents does not appear to differ according to residence within a historic designation or outside a historic designation, perceptions of greater social cohesion still provide benefits to the neighborhood. Researchers note that greater levels of perceived social cohesion are also associated with greater feelings of safety, which has significant implications for the overall health of the neighborhood's social climate (De Jesus et al. 2009). Furthermore, community attachment theories suggest that perceptions of cohesion within neighborhoods are important to consider because they provide solidarity amongst residents, which provides a resource to create change through both formal and informal venues (Dassopoulos and Monnat 2011).

The second goal of this study was to examine neighborhood quality as a mediating factor between historical designation and social cohesion. Previous research on social cohesion notes that residents' perception of safety and the quality of the housing stock within their neighborhood influence whether or not they seek out relationships within their neighborhood (De Jesus, Puleo, Shelton, and Emmons 2010). Evidence for mediation was found in relation to measures of collective efficacy and trust, while partial evidence was found in relation to measures of perception of social cohesion and social capital. Taken together, these findings suggest that those who live in historical districts are more likely to view their neighborhood as a good place than those who live in non-designated areas and, in turn, perceive higher levels of social cohesion. Residents who do not feel safe within their neighborhoods are unlikely to seek strong social connections with their neighbors (De Jesus, Puleo, Shelton, and Emmons 2010).

Conversely, neighborhood quality is positively associated with social cohesion (De Jesus et al. 2010).

Existing literature on historical designations suggest that spillover effects can positively impact the housing values of surrounding blocks (Leichenko et al. 2001). However, results from this study suggest that the idea of spillover effects may not apply for social cohesion. The non-designated area is in proximate location to the historical district, but its residents do not report similar levels of social cohesion when compared to residents within the historical district. This may be due to the differences between perception and more tangible characteristics of the neighborhood. Individuals who live outside of the historical district may be less likely to view their neighborhood as “good” as a direct result of not being designated, and thus feel less connected (or perhaps even disconnected) with their neighborhood. This idea is similar to research on mixed-income developments, which identify perceptions of an “us” and “them” mentality in these areas instead of a shared sense of belonging and neighborhood identity (Chaskin and Joseph 2009).

Despite the strengths of this study, there are also limitations that need to be acknowledged. First, the data used in this case study are not generalizable to all neighborhoods that contain historic districts. Additionally, the small sample size is a result of relatively low response rates, which may bias the findings. The data also do not provide a baseline measurement of social cohesion within the neighborhood before designation occurred. From this, we cannot assume causality but instead, only association between historical designation and reported levels of social cohesion. It is possible that higher levels of social cohesion are responsible for an area’s historical designation, as some mobilization at the neighborhood- or city-level is necessary. This may be especially true in the West Central neighborhood, as the

historical class structure of this neighborhood may have allowed those within the higher socioeconomic status area to have more influence in obtaining a historical designation for their portion of the neighborhood. Without data on pre-existing relations within the neighborhood prior to designation, we cannot define social cohesion as a cause or as a result of historical designation. In spite of these limitations, results provide initial insight into the potential impact of historical designation on residents' perception of cohesion and provide a strong foundation for future research to build on and explore this relationship further.

This study contributes to the literature by exploring the social implications of a widely used, but rarely studied neighborhood revitalization strategy: historical designation. Social cohesion is widely studied in the field of urban sociology because it predicts a number of certain neighborhood outcomes like prevalence of crime, quality of mental and physical health, and other important neighborhood features. Results from this study suggest that historical designation may be one policy that contributes to this form of community building. Specifically, this study suggests that residing in a historically designated neighborhood may increase the likelihood that residents view their neighborhood as a good place, have a sense of pride and solidarity in their neighborhood, and feel a stronger sense of social cohesion. Future research should continue to explore how historical designation shapes residents' perceptions of community and other social consequences in a broader context.

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Figure 1 West Central Neighborhood Association and Historical Designation Boundaries (City of Fort Wayne 2004)

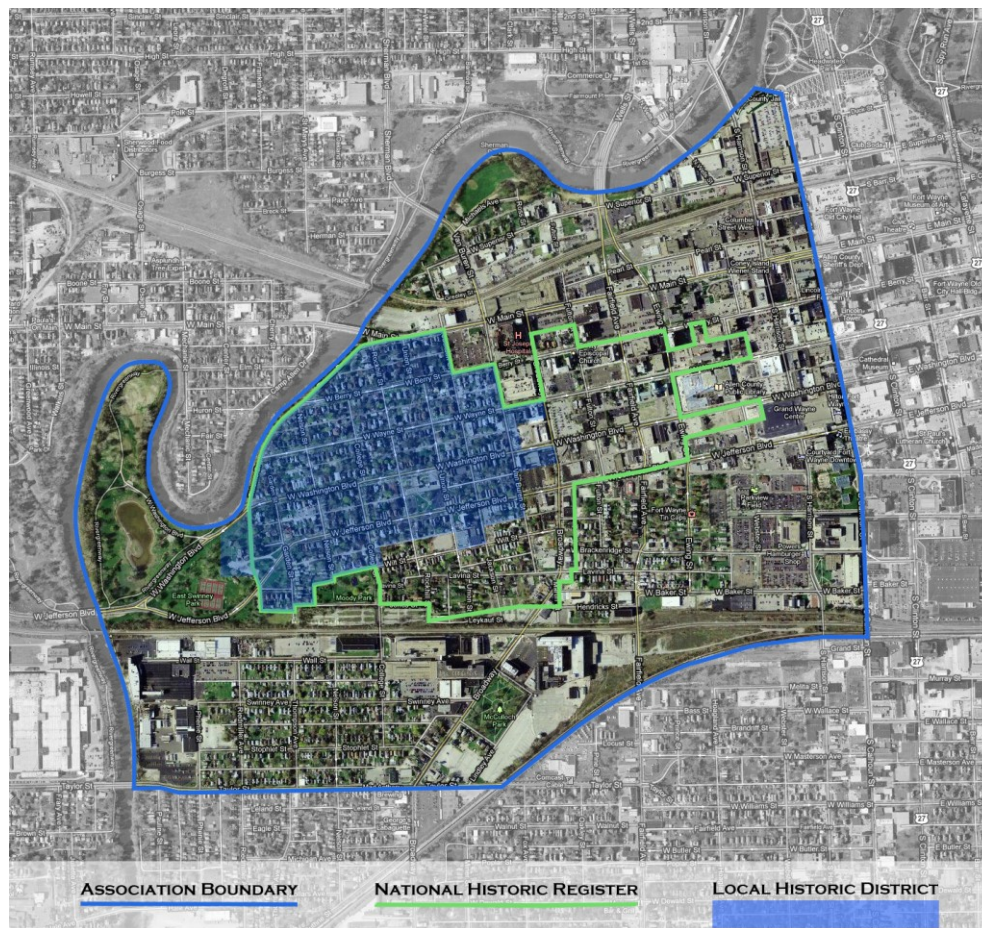


Table 1 Summary Statistics for All Variables by Region

	Overall Mean	Local & National Mean	National- Only Mean	Not Designated Mean	Minimum Value	Maximum Value
Age	3.78 (1.63)	3.83 (1.62)	3.42 (1.73)	3.80 (1.67)	1.00	6.00
Education	4.32 (1.80)	4.69 (1.70)	4.08 (2.02)	2.92 (1.39)	1.00	7.00
Female	0.59 (0.49)	0.52 (0.50)	0.92 (0.28)	0.70 (0.47)	0.00	1.00
Income	2.46 (1.42)	2.69 (1.41)	2.00 (0.43)	1.72 (1.56)	1.00	7.00
Preference for Cohesion	2.54 (0.96)	2.69 (0.94)	2.33 (1.09)	2.03 (0.80)	1.00	4.00
Perception of Connection	3.60 (0.96)	3.86 (0.80)	3.22 (1.05)	2.70 (0.96)	1.00	5.00
Actual Connection	0.00 (0.81)	0.22 (0.76)	-0.27 (0.81)	-0.31 (0.89)	-2.36	1.21
Collective Efficacy	3.48 (0.87)	3.67 (0.78)	3.17 (0.83)	2.81 (0.93)	1.00	5.00
Social Capital	3.34 (0.96)	3.61 (0.81)	2.98 (0.84)	2.40 (0.95)	1.00	5.00
Neighborhood Trust	3.69 (0.99)	3.92 (0.82)	3.42 (1.08)	2.87 (1.14)	1.00	5.00
Neighborhood Quality	3.71 (0.83)	3.88 (0.63)	3.58 (1.19)	3.03 (0.98)	1.00	5.00

N=118

*Note: Standard deviation in parentheses*



Table 2 Results from OLS Regression Examining the Influence of Historical Designation on Residents' Perceptions of Neighborhood Quality

	(1)		(2)	
	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	<i>B</i>
National	0.55 (0.28)	0.20	0.50 (0.29)	0.19
Not Designated	-0.85*** (0.19)	-0.46	-0.76*** (0.21)	-0.41
Female			-0.03 (0.15)	-0.02
Income			0.08 (0.06)	0.13
Education			0.01 (0.05)	0.02
Age			-0.05 (0.04)	-0.11
<i>R Squared</i>	0.15		0.18	

\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

N=118

Table 3 Results from OLS Regression Examining the Influence of Historical Designation on Residents' Perception of Social Connection

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>B</i>
National	0.52 (0.31)	0.17	0.38 (0.32)	0.12	0.30 (0.27)	0.10	0.04 (0.22)	0.01
Not Designated	-1.16*** (0.21)	-0.54	-1.00*** (0.23)	-0.47	-0.75*** (0.20)	-0.35	-0.41* (0.17)	-0.19
Female			0.11 (0.17)	0.06	-0.04 (0.15)	-0.02	0.03 (0.12)	0.02
Income			0.05 (0.06)	0.07	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.11	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.11
Education			0.08 (0.05)	0.15	0.06 (0.04)	0.12	0.06 (0.04)	0.11
Age			-0.04 (0.05)	-0.07	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.06	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01
Preference for Cohesion					0.53*** (0.08)	0.53	0.35*** (0.07)	0.35
Neighborhood Quality							0.57*** (0.08)	0.49
<i>R Squared</i>	0.21		0.26		0.49		0.66	

\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

N=116

Note: Sample size is 116 because data for two cases are invalid due to nonresponse.

Table 4 Results from OLS Regression Examining the Influence of Historical Designation on Residents' Actual Social Connection

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>B</i>
National	0.04 (0.29)	0.01	-0.01 (0.30)	-0.01	-0.06 (0.27)	-0.02	-0.19 (0.27)	-0.07
Not Designated	-0.54*** (0.20)	-0.29	-0.44* (0.22)	-0.24	-0.29 (0.20)	-0.16	-0.11 (0.20)	-0.59
Female			0.01 (0.16)	0.01	-0.09 (0.15)	-0.05	-0.06 (0.14)	-0.34
Income			0.09 (0.06)	0.15	0.01 (0.06)	0.02	0.01 (0.05)	0.01
Education			0.01 (0.05)	0.02	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01
Age			-0.04 (0.05)	-0.07	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.06	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.03
Preference for Cohesion					0.36*** (0.08)	0.42	0.27*** (0.08)	0.32
Neighborhood Quality							0.28*** (0.09)	0.28
<i>R Squared</i>		0.08		0.11		0.25		0.31

\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

N=118

Table 5 Results from OLS Regression on the Influence of Historical Designation on Residents' Perception of Social Capital

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	<i>B</i>
National	0.56 (0.31)	0.18	0.40 (0.31)	0.13	0.37 (0.30)	0.12	0.19 (0.28)	0.06
Not Designated	-1.21*** (0.21)	-0.57	-0.94*** (0.22)	-0.44	-0.84*** (0.22)	-0.39	-0.58** (0.22)	-0.27
Female			-0.03 (0.16)	-0.02	-0.10 (0.16)	-0.05	-0.05 (0.15)	-0.03
Income			0.06 (0.06)	0.08	0.01 (0.06)	0.01	0.01 (0.06)	-0.01
Education			0.12* (0.05)	0.23	0.11* (0.05)	0.21	0.11* (0.05)	0.21
Age			-0.01 (0.05)	-0.02	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.13	0.01 (0.04)	0.02
Preference for Cohesion					0.24** (0.09)	0.24	0.19 (0.09)	0.12
Neighborhood Quality							0.40*** (0.10)	0.34
<i>R Squared</i>	0.24		0.30		0.35		0.44	

\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ 

N=118

Table 6 Results from OLS Regression on the Influence of Historical Designation on Residents' Perception of Collective Efficacy

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	<i>B</i>
National	0.35 (0.30)	0.12	0.20 (0.29)	0.07	0.13 (0.24)	0.05	-0.06 (0.22)	-0.02
Not Designated	-0.86*** (0.20)	-0.44	-0.57** (0.21)	-0.29	-0.35* (0.18)	-0.18	-0.10 (0.16)	-0.05
Female			-0.04 (0.16)	-0.02	-0.17 (0.13)	-0.10	-0.13 (0.12)	-0.08
Income			0.10 (0.06)	0.17	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.01	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.02
Education			0.10* (0.05)	0.21	0.08* (0.04)	0.16	0.08* (0.03)	0.17
Age			-0.032 (0.05)	-0.06	0.04 (0.04)	-0.04	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01
Preference for Cohesion					0.51*** (0.07)	0.57	0.39*** (0.07)	0.43
Neighborhood Quality							0.40*** (0.08)	0.38
<i>R Squared</i>	0.15		0.24		0.50		0.60	

\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

N=118

Table 7 Results from OLS Regression on the Influence of Historical Designation on Residents' Trust in Neighbors

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>B</i>
National	0.55 (0.33)	0.17	0.50 (0.34)	0.15	0.45 (0.32)	0.14	0.11 (0.25)	0.04
Not Designated	-1.06*** (0.23)	-0.48	-0.87*** (0.25)	-0.39	-0.72** (0.24)	-0.39	-0.26 (0.19)	-0.12
Female			-0.12 (0.18)	-0.05	-0.20 (0.17)	-0.10	-0.12 (0.14)	-0.06
Income			0.11 (0.07)	0.16	0.04 (0.07)	0.05	0.03 (0.05)	0.04
Education			0.04 (0.05)	0.06	0.02 (0.05)	0.04	0.02 (0.04)	0.04
Age			-0.01 (0.05)	-0.02	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.01	0.03 (0.04)	0.05
Preference for Cohesion					0.36*** (0.09)	0.35	0.14 (0.08)	0.12
Neighborhood Quality							0.73*** (0.09)	0.61
<i>R Squared</i>	0.17		0.21		0.30		0.57	

\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ 

N=118